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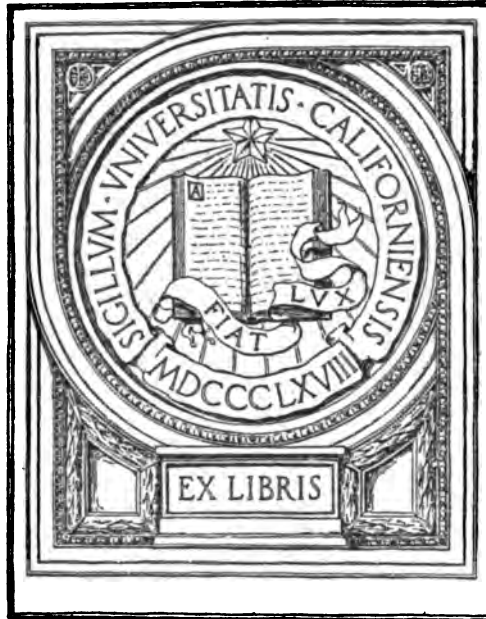
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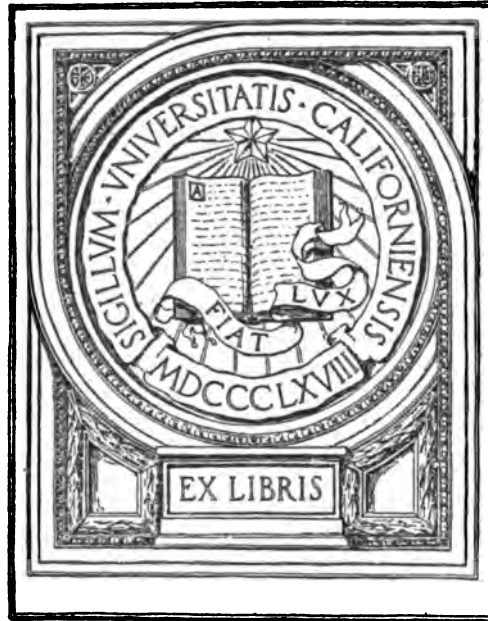
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Jean Nicolas Billaud-Varenne
As A Member of the Great Committee of Public Safety
1793-1794.

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A thesis submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the Degree of Master of ^{Arts} ~~Letters~~
at the
University of California

By
Rivera Boyd.

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obtained
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94.

The work of Billaud-Varenne upon the
Committee of Public Safety is based
upon F. A. Aulard: Recueil des Actes
du Comite de Salut Public Avec La
Correspondance Officelle des Repre-
sentants en Mission et le Registre
du Conseil Executif Provisoire -
Paris 1889 -

Work of Billaud-Varenne

As A Member of the Great Committee of Public Safety.

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Billaud-Varenne
Sketch of the Life of Billaud-Varenne.

Jean Nicolas Billaud-Varenne was born at La Rochelle April 23, 1756. His father was an avocat and intended that his son should enter the profession of law so sent him to Poitiers to study. He obtained his decree in 1778 and returned to Rochelle. But in 1783 he entered the congregation of the Oratorians at Juilley. He did not actually enter the order but acted in the capacity of law Professor and was named Prefect of studies.

He was dismissed from the college and went to study law in Paris where he married. He did not do much at his profession so turned to literary work. His first work was published in 1789 under the title of *Le Despotisme des ministres de la France* and made no particular impression. He published *Le Peintre Politique* (1789) and *Plus de Ministres* (1790) both political pamphlets.

In 1791 he wrote *Acephalocratie* in which he showed himself an exponent of federalism which was directly contrary to his later republicanism.

Billaud-Varenne was a regular attendant of Jacobin and Cordelier Clubs where he became acquainted with Danton who probably had a great deal of influence upon him.

Perhaps it was thru Danton's influence that Billaud-Varenne was elected to the insurrectionary commune by the

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section of the Theatre Francois, August 9, and to succeed himself as procurer of Paris. Later he was elected to the Convention as 5th deputy for Paris, where he sat with the mountain. He became noted for his energy and ability which he clearly demonstrated during his mission to the Vendee.

February, 1793 he became president of the Jacobin Club and on September 5th of the same year he was elected president of the Convention. He held this office only one day as he was chosen a member of the Great Committee of Public Safety on September 6, 1793.

Billaud-Varenne was an active member of the Committee and upon its fall in August, 1794, was deported to French Guiana where he died in 1815.

Stephens: The French Revolution Vol. 2 - 306
Robinet: Dictionnaire Historique and Biographique.

Army and Navy.

Carnot and C^A. Prieur were the men in charge of military matters upon the Committee of Public Safety as they were the only men with sufficient technical knowledge to organize the French forces against the Armies of Europe. Billaud-Varenne was a lawyer and as such could have known little of army manoevers or the chemical composition of gunpowder yet he signed 122 decrees concerning the army and 53 having to do with arms. These decrees are of more or less technical nature as arrests, dismissals and appointments of military men are not treated in this chapter.

Although Billaud-Varenne signed 175 decrees upon military matters only one was in his own hand and another partly in his hand while Carnot wrote 42, Parere 31, C^A. Prieur 27, Lindet 7, Saint Andre 2, Herault 1, and Saint Just 1. There were 59 in no hand but most of them were of so technical a nature as to preclude their authorship by Billaud.

It is unnecessary to give an account of the decrees signed by Billaud-Varenne which would be an account of the organization of the republican army as this has been done.¹

1. Culp:- The Work of Carnot As a Member of the Great Committee of Public Safety.

The decree written by Billaud was upon military hospitals, a very important phase of army work. "The Committee of Public Safety wishing to prevent the abuse and enormous expense which results from the multiplicity of the military hospitals and their administrations, which circumstances have forced to be established near the armies which fought the brigands of the Vendee, decrees that the citizen Laribeau, inspector of the military hospitals of the republic, be charged to make the discharge of the hospitals of the Vendee in order to reduce them to the necessary number. He will conserve only the hospitals which can accomodate five or six hundred persons and are in a most healthy situation. He is authorized to have aid him in this work citizen Nicolas Virgier. He will render account every fifteen days of his work, to the Committee of Public Safety and the Minister of War.¹

Billaud-Varenne Collot d'Herbois

B. Barere, Carnot."

Billaud-Varenne had no more authorized connection with the navy than he had with the army, as Jeanbon Saint Andre was the member who had entire charge of the reorganization of the French navy assisted by Prieur de la Marn. Yet Billaud signed 80 navy decrees, over half as many as

1. Aulard Recueil des Actes. Vol 10 - 330.

Jeanbon signed altogether. But he wrote only one of these while Barere wrote 19, Saint Andre 17, CA. Prieur 4 and Carnot 3. 34 were in no hand. The decrees signed by Billaud were upon every phase of naval work and a digest of these would only be repeating the work of Saint Andre and Prieur de la Marn which has already been written upon.¹

The one decree written by Billaud was an order to the minister of the navy as follows; "The Committee of Public Safety decrees that the minister of the navy shall call without delay the citizen St. Julien in order that he may command the naval army at Brest."²

Billaud-Varenne, Collot d'Herbois

Prieur (de la Marne), Barere, Carnot, CA.Prieur"

1. Adams: Jeanbon Saint Andre As A Member of the Great Committee of Public Safety.
Remsen: Prieur (de la Marne) As A Member of the Great Committee of Public Safety.
2. Aulard Recueil des Actes. Vol. 7 - 1

Supplies.

One of the most important phases of the work of the Committee of Public Safety was that of obtaining supplies not only for the army but for France. Robert Lindet had charge of this work and from a survey of the decrees upon this subject he seems to have worked alone. Billaud-Varenne signed 120 decrees upon supplies but wrote none of them.

One division of the work was the regulation of supplies for all parts of the Republic and particularly for Paris. As early as September 25, 1793, the Committee, considering the urgent need of supplies in Paris, ordered the minister of the navy to deliver to Paris 10,000 hundred-weight of grain which amount was to be replaced in the naval magazines by the minister of the interior.¹ Certain parts of France were required to feed Paris, as was shown by the decree of January 3, 1794, which ordered all the departments which were to supply Paris with provisions to do so without delay.² On February 3, 1794, a long decree was passed concerning the beef supply of Paris³ which was written by Lindet. On April 19, 1794 was passed the last important decree of this kind

1. Aulard Recueil des Actes Vol. 7 - 51

2. " " " " " 10 - 46

3. " " " " " 10 - 634

(in the hand of Barere) which ordered Paris to be provisioned as for a seige.¹ So the Committee, under Lindets direction, provisioned their largest city successfully.

Aside from the supplies obtained within France there was a demand for foreign products, particularly grain from America. On November 22, 1793, the Committee authorized the Commission of Supplies and Provisions to do everything it could to facilitate the purchase of grains and flour from America.² This was emphasized in the financial decrees where these supplies were ordered to be paid for in coin as the American Captains would not accept the assignats.³

The greater part of the decrees was concerning the supplies for the army and navy -- to feed and clothe the great fighting force of France was Lindet's great problem. Thus from September 10, 1793, until July 22, 1794, Billaud signed decrees which gave the history of this work, but it was so peculiarly Lindet's problem and not Billaud's that no attempt will be made to summarize those decrees.

Theorists usually do not have a large part of play in the feeding of a nation but the law of the maximum had such an intimate bearing upon the economic situation in France that it will be considered with the question of

1. Aulard Recueil des Actes Vol. 12 - 679

2. " " " " " 8 - 418

3. " " " " " 9 - 602

provisions. Some idea of its working value may be gained from the decrees signed by Billaud pertaining to that law. On October 27, 1793 the Committee passed a decree which definitely stated how all supplies should be rated according to the law of the maximum,¹ but upon November 13,² November 18,³ November 19⁴ and November 22,⁵ 1793, there were decrees about contractors supplying the army who had complained of the law of the maximum. They had purchased their materials at a high price before the law of the maximum was passed so were unable to sell their goods without great loss under the regulations of that law. This condition of affairs was supposedly settled by the following decree of November 23, 1793.

Vu les petitions des différentes fournisseurs pour les armées de la République qui demandent que les arretes par lesquels le comité a décidé que plusieurs fournitures seraient, jusqu'à une certaine époque payées sur le même pied qu'elles l'étaient avant la loi du maximum leur soient déclarés communs;

Le Comité de salut public considerant qu'il n'a pris cette mesure que parce que les fournisseurs qui ont passé des soumissions anterieurement à ladite loi ont fait, pour en

- | | | | | | | | | |
|----|--------|---------|-----|-------|------|---|---|-----|
| 1. | Aulard | Recueil | des | Actes | Vol. | 8 | - | 56 |
| 2. | " | " | " | " | " | 8 | - | 389 |
| 3. | " | " | " | " | " | 8 | - | 517 |
| 4. | " | " | " | " | " | 8 | - | 552 |
| 5. | " | " | " | " | " | 8 | - | 619 |

remplir les conditions, des achats de matières à un prix bien plus haut que celui taxé en vertu de cette loi, et qu'ils se trouveraient injustement lésés, si leurs fournitures ne leur étaient payées que sur ce pied; considérant que les mêmes motifs qui ont déterminé le Comité à l'égard des uns militent en faveur des autres:

Arrête que toutes marchandises fournies pour l'habillement, équipement et campement des troupes, en conséquence de soumissions qui auront été passées pour le compte de la République antérieurement à la loi du maximum, et dont les livraisons auront été effectuées à l'époque du 20 brumaire dernier, seront payées conformément aux clauses desdites soumissions; les livraisons faites postérieurement audit jour 20 brumaire ne pourront, sous aucun prétexte, être payées que sur le pied fixé en exécution de la loi du maximum; il n'est nullement dérogé par le présent arrêté à ce que a été statué jusqu'à ce jour pour différentes espèces de ces fournitures.

Billaud-Varenne, Carnot ¹

On Nov. 27, 1794, a similar decree² written by Lindet was passed which extended the time until the 20 of frimaire for those who would be unable to fulfill their

1. Recueil des Act Vol.8 - 647

2. " " " Vol.9 - 3

Contracts if the law of the Maximum was enforced. This was again referred to in a decree of December 24, 1793 "The Committee of Public Safety in view of the petition of citizen Sallemnier, merchant of Paris charged with the furnishing of clothing for the naval troops, who claims payment for the furnishings made until 21 brumaire to the 1st and 2nd regiments of the naval artillery according to the agreements and engagements made before the fixing of a maximum price upon provisions and merchandise (in view of) the testimonials of the administrative councils of these two regiments, declares that he has been provided for whatever inconveniences which may have resulted from the application of the law on the maximum price of supplies and merchandise for the furnishings made in execution of agreements prior to this law, for the account of the Republic, by the decree of 7 fumaire to which all administrative councils and the agents charged with the verification and liquidation of the furnishings and expenses made for the armies, must conform, in execution of the agreements and engagements prior to the laws of 11th and 29th of September last.¹

R. Lindet, Billaud-Varenne, Carnot, B. Barere"

1. Aulard Recueil des Actes Vol. 9 - 623

January 13, 1794, another decree was passed based upon a report of the Commission of Supplies and Provisions, which gave an extension of time of one month and a half to citizens Lignieres, father and son, contractor of hides for the army, besides the extension given by the decree of 7th of fumaire.¹ Again upon February 17, 1794 a decree was passed relative to some trouble between the administrations of the district of Joigny and the workingmen of the different communes, who had formed a coalition to obtain a salary above the maximum. The Committee decided that the administrators should inquire very carefully into the affair and those workmen who refused to work according to the law of the maximum should be treated as suspects.²

On May 20, 1794, another decree written by Barere ordered the coffee in the condemned hotel des Fermes to be divided among the merchants of Paris who should sell it according to the maximum.³ On June 10, 1794, a decree was passed giving special aid to those who had contracted for the execution of the service of military convoys so that their work could continue in spite of the law of Maximum.⁴

These decrees showed that the law of the Maximum did not bring about a settled economic situation as the

- | | | | | | | | | |
|----|--------|---------|-----|-------|------|----|---|-----|
| 1. | Aulard | Recueil | des | Artes | Vol. | 10 | - | 221 |
| 2. | " | " | " | " | " | 11 | - | 215 |
| 3. | " | " | " | " | " | 13 | - | 665 |
| 4. | " | " | " | " | " | 14 | - | 246 |

theorists had thought.

The question of supplies was very important and Billaud-Varenne may have been very interested in that phase of Revolutionary government but it seems very improbable that he had any great share in the actual work as he did not write a single decree upon that subject though he signed 120 decrees with other men.

Finance.

It is very difficult to ascertain whether Billaud-Varenne had any connection with the finances of the revolution. He signed 183 financial decrees but wrote only three of these. Barere wrote 34, CA. Prieur 17, Lindet 14, Collot 10, Couthon 3, Carnot 3, Saint Just 2, Robespierre 1, and Saint Andre 1, 95 are in no hand. The financial decrees fall under the following divisions: money paid out for the Army 13, the Navy 4, Public works 12, Supplies 15, Popular societies 6, Aid or Relief 16, Representatives 6, Citizens 37, Government officers and Commissions 30; Financial reports 8, financial decrees of general nature or not under the aforesaid heads, 35.

The Committee of Public Safety had been voted 50 million livres by the National convention and a great variety of their expenditures were made from this source but the Committee also controlled the expenditure of other moneys of the Republic. This is well shown by the many decrees which order the National treasury to pay so much money for this or that purpose often in a very preemptory manner. A typical decree of this kind is one of February 16, 1794 in the hand of CA. Prieur. "The Committee of Public Safety commands the administrators of the National treasury, under their joint responsibility to give immediately to representative of the

people Deydier the amount of the draft which was given to him by the Committee of Public Safety.

Billaud-Varenne Carnot, CA. Prieur." ¹

Another decree upon that same day ordered the National treasury to send one of its members immediately to the Committee of Public Safety to confer upon the quickness which is important in their service connected with operations of the Committee of Public Safety.²

The financial power of the Committee is shown in a decree of June 17, 1794, written by Barere. "The Committee of Public Safety decrees that there will be opened at the national treasury a credit account of three hundred million livres in favor of the administration of Police of Paris for the nourishing of those held in the prisons, whose surveillance is confided to the administrations of the police of Paris. The said sum of three hundred thousand livres will be taken from the funds accruing from those seized from the prisoners, and which will be deposited immediately in the national treasury.

B. Barere Billaud-Varenne, Carnot" ³

1. Recueil des Actes Vol. 11 - 178
2. " " " " 11 - 178
3. " " " " 14 - 353

On April 23, 1794, the following order was sent out to the twelve divisions of republican government. "The Committee of Public Safety decrees that the twelve Commissions must present to it each day the state of expenses which they will have approved.

Collot-d'Herbois, B. Barere, Billaud-Varenne" ¹

The Committee's careful supervision of finance led to many reports and orders for auditing of accounts. One of the most important of these was a decree of May 2, 1794 four pages long, signed by Barere, Billaud-Varenne and Collot d'Herbois² which gives a list of all the expenditures made by the Committee for other departments which "drafts were only for the purpose of providing momentarily for expenses which the urgency of the service would not allow submission to ordinary forms and it was necessary to replace those expenses" then followed a list of all the expenditures made by the Committee for other parts of the government, naming the date of the decree, amount paid out from the Committee's funds and the Commission under whose direction the money would have been expended - as in article 9 "L'arrêté du Comité de salut public du 27 août 179 3(v.s.), qui a mis à la disposition du minister de la guerre une somme de cinq cent mille livres

Recueil des Actes Vol. 13-6

2. " " " " 6-589; Vol. 7-513; Vol. 11-39; Vol.12-454
Vol. 13-199; Vol.13-588; Vol. 14-17.

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pour réparation et transport de fusils de Charleville, sera rendu au Comité par la Commission des arms et poudres, attendu que le minsiter à parte cette dépense dans ses distributions." ¹

A decree of July 14, 1794 shows one of the methods used by the Committee to refill the depleted treasury of France. "The Committee of Public Safety decrees that there will be leveed by the representatives of the people of the army of Sambre-et-Meuse a contribution of 50 millions in cash, upon Brussels. 600 hostages will be taken immediately, in that city; they will leave for Maubeuge on the receipt of the present decree and will not re-enter Brussels until the sum is accounted. A contribution of 10 millions will be imposed at Tournai; first 30 hostages will be taken from them who will be taken to Lille and will not return to Tournai until after the payement is finished. The representatives will take three thousand horses and a thousand wagons from the Belgiums. All the inhabitants where the armies of the Republic have penetrated will be disarmed. No contribution can be imposed except upon the rich. The present decree will not be published." ²

Billaud-Varenne, Saint-Just."

1. Recueil des Actes Vol. 13-201
2. " " " " 15-159

A similar decree of more general application which would assure the French Republic "une sorte d'indemnité des dépenses dont le remboursement lui est dû par les nations belligérantes"¹ was passed July 16, 1794. These decrees show that the Republic was not averse to using the methods of kings to refill her coffers.

The three decrees written by Billaud-Varenne were upon three different subjects. The first of January 24, 1794, was typical of many decrees passed by the Committee, showing the admiration felt for the Popular Societies. "The Committee of Public Safety decrees in recognition of the service rendered the public by the Popular Society of Lorient in forming public spirit, in suppressing fanaticism, and wishing it new means of scattering patriotism and enlightenment in the country of the département of Morbihan, it will have delivered to it a draft on the National Treasury of the sum of 9,000 livres to be taken from the 50 millions put by the National Convention at the disposition of the Committee of Public Safety. A third of that sum will be paid immediately, and the other two thirds in fourths in four months."²

Billaud-Varenne, Carnot, B. Barere, CA. Priour.

1. Recueil des Actes Vol. 15-440

2. " " " " 10-414

Billaud-Varenne may or may not have had special interest in rewarding popular societies but he only wrote one of six decrees upon the subject, the other five¹ being in the hand of Barere.

The second decree relating to finance, in the hand of Billaud-Varenne was as follows: "The Committee of Public Safety certifies to having received the papers in justification of the employment of the 50,000 livres placed at the disposal of citizen Laplanche, representative of the people, by the decree of 8 brumaire."²

Billaud-Varenne, Couthon, B.Barere, Carnot,
Robespierre, Collot-d'Herbois."

The third decree in Billaud-Varenne's hand was "The Committee of Public Safety decrees that David, representative of the people, will plan the costume destined for the representatives of the people near the armies of the French Republic, and that he will place at the disposition of the tailor charged to make that costume a sum of 1,200 livres of which he will render account."³

Billaud-Varenne, B. Barere, CA. Prieur."

Decrees similar to this were invariably in the hand of Barere.

1. Recueil des Actes Vol. 7-499; Vol. 8-433; Vol. 9-720
Vol.12-680; Vol.12-681.
2. " " " Vol.11-39.
3. " " " Vol.13-46.

It is unnecessary to take up financial decrees relating to army, navy, or supplies as Billaud-Varenne had no apparent connection with those fields of work. Indeed, it is very difficult to ascertain whether he has any definite connection with finance when only three were in his hand, and these three so very differentiated in subject matter.

Arrests and Freedom from Arrests.

The great number of arrests during the Reign of Terror is often emphasized but Billaud-Varenne, one of the reputed organizers of that Terror, only signed 162 decrees ordering arrests and freedom from arrests. Out of this number 45 were in no hand, Barere wrote 29, Robespierre 19, Carnot 9, Couthon 9, Collot, 8, Billaud-Varenne 7, CA. Prieur 6, Saint Just 3, Lindet 2, and Saint Andre 2. There were also 19 decrees written by members of the Committee of General Security. Billaud-Varenne invariably signed the decrees passed by the Committee of Public Safety and General Security when they worked together.

The decrees dealing with arrests can best be divided into arrests of army and navy men, government officials and regular citizens. The arrests of army and navy men decreased as the year 1794 advanced while the arrests of governmental officials and other persons increased rapidly as that year advanced. The growing uneasiness of the Committee for its position was clearly shown by this increase not only of decrees ordering arrests but freeing persons who had been arrested.

An interesting phase of army discipline is shown thru the following decrees in the hand of Barere March 11, 1794, "The Committee of Public Safety decrees that the soldiers

of the 1st bataillon of Paris of the third levy, discharged in a state of arrest will be held at Evreux, and put in state of arrest until a new order.

B.Barere, Billaud-Varenne, Collot-d'Herbois,
CA.Prieur, Carnot."¹

May 29, 1794, the Committee decreed that the 72 volunteers of the 1st bataillon of Paris should be released from prison as they had been sufficiently punished by three months imprisonment.² These decrees show that the Committee did not shrink from arresting large numbers.

Billaud-Varenne signed the decree which imprisoned Herauet Schecelles³ while only Billaud and Barere signed the decree which ordered Robespierre, Couthon and Goubourd to be taken to the "Conciergerie"⁴ but both of these decrees were in the hand of Barere.

Billaud did not write any decrees upon arrests until March 22, 1794, when a decree was drawn up in his hand as follows, "The Committee of Public Safety informed that by an error of name that they have arrested citizen Boisson, living at rue de la Barillerie, in the place of citizen Bodson, junior, judge of the police court section Revolutionnaire, formerly of Pont-Neuf, decrees that citizen Boisson

1. Recueil des Actes Vol. 11-637
2. " " " " 14-1
3. " " " " 11-712
4. " " " " 15-480

be set at liberty, and a copy of the present decree be delivered him, to aid him if he needs it; decrees also that conforming to the decree of yesterday, the citizen Bodson, junior, will be arrested, and charges the execution of the present decree to the Mayor of Paris and he is to render account of it during the day.¹

Couthon, Billaud-Varenne, Carnot, Saint Just."

March 26, 1794, Billaud-Varenne wrote a decree ordering Lambert, former Commissioner of the army of Ardennes to be brought to Paris and put in prison.² March 30, 1794, "The Committee of Public Safety decrees that Victor Broglio be arrested immediately; the minister of war is charged with the execution of this decree.³

Billaud-Varenne, Collot d'Herbois

Barere, CA. Prieur."

Also on March 30, 1794, he wrote a decree which called for the arrest of Real, former substitute of the national agent of Paris.⁴

April 5, 1794, he wrote a decree signed by the members of the Committee of Public Safety and General Security which ordered the arrest of citizen Dufourny, administrator of the department of Paris,⁵ and on July 3,

1. Recueil des Actes Vol. 12-101
2. " " " " 12-181
3. " " " " 12-281
4. " " " " 12-281
5. " " " " 12-407

1794, a decree which ordered the arrest of Duplain, author of the Currier universal¹. On July 28, 1794, there was a decree in Billaud's hand which ordered the Revolutionary Committee of the section Marat to put into prison Warne Laurent and Simon Munciple, officers of Paris.²

Billaud also signed decrees concerning prisons and prisoners which may be allied with his decrees concerning arrests, though they were quite different in character.

Billaud signed 20 decrees concerning the condition of prisons and prisoners. There were orders concerning food to be given to prisoners³, orders to keep certain prisoners separated from the rest⁴; to punish those who were disorderly⁵; and those in charge of the prisons were ordered to report upon the condition of the prisoners to the Committee.⁶

The one decree in Billaud's hand was as follows. "The Committee of Public Safety informed that there ought to arrive immediately in the Commune of Versailles 700 prisoners from the number detained as suspects who have been conducted from the Commune of Chartres, from several neighboring departments; decrees that the minister of the interior ought to give the necessary orders immediately so

1. Recueil des Actes Vol. 14-695
2. " " " " 15-482
3. " " " " 7-464; 8-290
4. " " " " 12-55, 382
5. " " " " 14-518
6. " " " " 12-54 ; 14-739

that the prisoners may be provisionally shut up in safe places in the Commune of Versailles, in order to send them to the different places best able to receive them and provide for their nourishment.

Carnot, Billaud-Varenne, B. Barere."

The passing of decrees about arrests and prisoners was a part of the Committee's work but it does not appear to have been particularly that of Billaud-Varenne as he wrote so few of the decrees. At least it does not seem that he was as much of a police member as Barere or Robespierre.

Appointments.

Billaud-Varenne signed 124 decrees dealing with appointments, dismissals, reappointments and resignations but he only wrote two of these, while Barere wrote 44, Saint Andre 30, Carnot 13, Robespierre 10, Collot, Couthon and CA.Prieur 3, Herault 1 and 44 were in no hand. Members of the Committee of General Security wrote two of the decrees. The decrees in Billaud's hand were as follows; on May 11, 1794, "The Committee of Public Safety decrees that citizen Leuseur, member of the Conservatory of the National Museum, will fulfill provisionally the position of Commissioner of public works made vacant by the appointment of Fleuriot Mayor of Paris."¹

Billaud-Varenne, Collot d'Herbois,

Carnot, CA. Prieur, Robespierre.

May 15, 1794, "The Committee of Public Safety upon the presentation of the Commission of Aids appoints the citizens Dunoyer, of the department of Jura, and Hereaut, of the department of l'Oise, members of the National Agency of the Invalids, established by a decree of 25th of this month to replace the administration created by the law of May 16, 1792."²

Robespierre, CA.Prieur, Collot d'Herbois,

Billaud-Varenne, B. Barere.

1. Recueil des Actes Vol. 13-431

2. " " " " 13-528

Relation of Billaud-Varenne to the
Representatives on Mission.

The Representatives of the people were the agents of the Committee of Public Safety and as such carried out in the departments the system of government called the Reign of Terror. Billaud's relation to this part of the government is shown through the decrees passed and the letters sent out by the Committee.

Billaud-Varenne signed 69 decrees relating to the Representatives of the people, of these Barere wrote 23, no hand 22, Collot wrote 10, CA.Prieur 3, Carnot 3, Lindet 2, Robespierre 2, Couthon 2, Billaud 2, and Saint Andre 1.

Most of the decrees were instructions of various kinds relative to the army, navy, or government of the departement, the greatest number being of governmental type. A few ordered the return of the Representatives to the convention. The law of 14th of Frimaire inaugurated the reign of terror and it is interesting to note that the decree upon this subject among decrees relative to Representatives of the people was written by Barere on December 18, 1793. "The Committee of Public Safety decrees that citizen Chaudron-Roussau shall go as a representative of the people already appointed by the convention for the southern departements, in the departements of Aude, Ariege, and the Eastern Pyrenees, for the organization of the revolutionary government decreed by the 14th of Frimaire

and there to take all other measures for public safety which he believes necessary.

B. Barere, Carnot, Billaud-Varenne."

The decrees written by Billaud-Varenne were as follows: October 20, 1793 "The Committee of Public Safety decrees that Henty, representative of the people, go without delay to Maubeuge, there to take all measures for Public Safety required by the circumstances relative to the civil and military authorities. He is invested for that reason, with the same powers as the other representatives of the people sent near the armies and in the departements.²

Billaud-Varenne, Herault,
Collot d'Herbois, B. Barere."

July 17, 1794 "The Committee of Public Safety decrees that the representative of the people Couthon shall go, according to the mission with which he is charged, to Rochelle and Bordeaux, in order to take in those cities the measures for public safety which circumstances have rendered necessary.³

Billaud-Varenne, Collot d'Herbois,
Jeanbon Saint Andre."

Aulard Recueil des Actes Vol. 9-482
2. " " " " " 7-513
3. " " " " " 14-772

Billaud's work with the representatives is more clearly shown by the letters of the Committee which he signed or wrote so they are incorporated in this chapter upon Representatives.

Billaud-Varenne signed 98 of the letters sent out by the Committee of Public Safety, 60 were in no hand, Barere wrote 12, Billaud 6, Carnot 5, Lindet 4, Robespierre 4, CA. Priour 3 and Collot 2. Four of the letters in "no hand" were signed only by Billaud-Varenne. Dec. 31, 1793, a letter to "Carpenter Representative charged with the levy en masse in the Manche and Orne now at Saint-Malo"¹ ordering him to be more watchful as Saint Malo was restless, and the center of a new conspiracy and to arrest a couple of suspected officials. The decree ended with "The Committee commands vigilance, activity and severity.

Billaud-Varenne"

Jan 10, 1794, there was a decree signed only by Billaud which ordered Saliceti Representative at the army of Italy at Toulon to go to Corsica.² Again on Jan. 17, 1794, a letter to Brival Representative at Vienne and Haute-Vienne ordering him to look after the manufacture of arms in Vienne;³

1. Aulard Recueil des Actes Vol. 9-777
2. " " " " " 10-164
3. " " " " " 10-293

on Jan 22, 1794, to Chales Representative in the Army of the North at Lille which recalled him to the Convention;¹ and on April 6, 1794, a letter to Ingrand Representative in Vienne at Poitiers inviting him to go to the department of Deux Sevres to reorganize and purify the government of that place.²

There were three letters in "no hand" partly written by Billaud. One Nov. 13, 1793, was to Le Bon Representative of the people in the Pas-de-Calais which mentioned the need of keeping the popular societies "the firmest stay of the revolution"³ free from aristocratic influence, applauded the measures taken by Le Bon, and gave him all authority he wished. The last phrase in the hand of Billaud was - "The note concerning citizen Badouville has been sent to the minister of war who ought to decide upon his dismissal. As for the rest use your own judgement."⁴

The second was a circular sent out to all the Representatives on mission of which the general trend was, no time should be given to conspirators for reflection or good citizens for desire. "Like the star which burns and dries useless things but which ripens the harvest, the revolutionary government brings life to patriots and death to

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| 1. | Aulard | Recueil des Actes | Vol. | 10-379 |
| 2. | " | " | " | " 12-428 |
| 3. | " | " | " | " 8-396 |
| 4. | " | " | " | " 8-395 |

traitors",¹ all representatives should work with same force, and attempt to use the same principles to sustain their work, etc.etc. The part in Billaud's hand is as follows:- Ton énergie saura les abattre. Surtout, citizen collègue, mets beaucoup de scrupule dans le choix des agents que tu pourras employer; et encore sois très circonspect dans l'usage de cette mesure.

S'il est difficile de remplir une mission aussi importante que la tienne, peut-être est il impossible d'atteindre le but sans être revêtu du caractère de représentant du, qui en impose à celui-la même qui s'en trouve honore. Les commissaires que vos nommez s'oublient trop aisément; aussi en est-il peu qui n'aient compromis ceux de qui ils avaient reçu des pouvoirs. Au surplus n'oublie jamais de les circonscrire rigoureusement dans le cercle tracé par le décret du 14 frimaire; que se soient des surveillants sévères de l'exécution de tes arrêtés, mais rien de plus. Ta responsabilité l'exige; la loi prescrit aussi.

D'ailleurs il y a les agents nationaux, dont tu peux, dont tu dois t'entourer, Investis de la confiance du peuple, chargés spécialement de l'exécution de la loi, ils sont devenus naturellement les bras du législateur.

Le Comité de salut public, citoyen collègue, a une dernière recommandation à te faire. C'est l'unité dans tes opérations; c'est l'attention de te renfermer religieusement dans les limites que t'assignent tes pouvoirs; c'est enfin

la parité de mesures et de conduite avec tes collègues, ce qui deviendra facile, si tes arrêtes sont calqués sur la loi qui doit vous servir de base. Quand on emprunte les mêmes couleurs, on a nécessairement une teinte de similitude.

Rien ne déprime la dignité de la représentation nationale comme l'oubli de ces trois principes. Cette inégalité dans la marche et dans les opérations laisse les autorités constituées dans une incertitude continuelle ce que relâche et brise tôt ou tard les ressorts du gouvernement. De là aussi une divagation funeste dans l'opinion publique, que encourage l'aristocratie, et qui atténue l'énergie du patriotisme.

Notre force est dans notre union: et notre union réside dans l'identité de vues, de Maximes y de volonté. Tout représentant du peuple doit songer que nos erreurs sont solidaires, car la malveillance est là que épie nos actions pour flétrir la Convention nationale, en rejetant sur l'ensemble nos fautes particulières.

Collat-d'Herbois, Billaud-Varenne."

The first part of the letter was a very rhetorical composition concerning republicanism while the part in the hand of Billaud stated the principles which were to govern the representatives in their work. It would be interesting to know who wrote the first part of the letter.

Aulard Recueil des Actes Vol. 9-630

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On January 23, 1794, the Committee sent a letter to Barras and Feron, representatives at the army of Italy, at Marseilles. The first and greater part of the letter is a very rhetorical dissertation upon the wickedness of Marseilles, then there is a paragraph in the hand of Billaud as follows; "Marseille, ramenée a ses devoirs a fourni des forces pour reduire l'infâme Toulon. Enfin, Marseille rebelle a neanmoins toujours compté dans ses murs un certain nombre de patriotes, et la section 11^e, restee constamment fidèle a la Republique, cette section qui a si puissamment contribué a remettre cette ville ingrate sous la puissance nationale, la section 11^e ne peut pas être enveloppée dans le même chatiment, ni punie pour un crime qu'elle a repoussé avec horreur."

The two intervening paragraphs not written by Billaud made note of the fact that although Marseilles was the home of federalism yet might it not become a place of public utility? Also Marseilles had a name noted in history and many would rather die than renounce it.

The letter is finished by Billaud.- "Que sa conservation soit le prix des républicains qui n'ont pas dementi leur antique gloire, et qui, par leur constance curque et leur dévouement, ont même honoré de nouveau le titre qu'ils reclamation. C'est de notre part un trait de politique qui leur rappellera sans cesse des crimes à venger, mais en même temps un nom célèbre à maintenir dans tout son éclat.

Tellessont, citoyens, collègues, les observations qui motivent les changements que nous proposons dans l'arrêté que vous avez pris, et dont vous trouverez l'indication jointe à cette lettre. Plus la vengeance nationale doit être rigoureuse, plus la justice doit avoir les caractères de l'équité. Pour quoi traiter Marseille comme Toulon, livrée aux Anglais par un vœu unanime des habitants? Pourquoi traiter cette ville plus sévèrement que Caen et Bordeaux, où l'esprit contre révolutionnaire était presque général?

Où il est beau, citoyens collègues, de pouvoir comme vous, après de longs travaux et une victoire immortelle, qu'il est doux de revenir sous tels auspices au sein de la Convention nationale! Certes, le repos est dû aux triomphateurs de Toulon. Venez donc rejoindre vos amis; il n'en est pas un qui ne soit pressé du désir de vous embrasser.¹

Collot-d'Herbois, Billaud-Varenne."

There was also a letter signed by Carnot and Billaud-Varenne on January 29, 1794, dealing with an arrest and ordering investigation, of which another copy was partly written by Billaud and signed by him alone.²

Ten of the letters in no hand are signed "The members charged with correspondence" and these are signed

1. Aulard Recueil des Actes 'Vol. 10-490

2. " " " " " 10-509

by Billaud and Collot alone except in two cases, one signed by Billaud and Carnot January 24, 1794, the other by Collot, Couthon CA. Prieur and Billaud-Varenne, July 15, 1794. A synopsis of these letters follows. January 23, 1794, the Committee wrote inviting the Committee of Public instruction to construct a work which would answer the various questions asked about the revolutionary government.¹ January 24, 1794, the work of the representatives was carefully outlined according to the law of 14 frimaire in a letter to Carrier, Representative in the Loire-Inferrieur.² January 26, 1794, a letter was sent to the constituted authorities, which gave a model upon which they were to base their correspondance.³ February 12, 1794, the Committee sent information about a local society, which the Committee of Surveillance had gathered, to Crassous, Representative in the department of Paris and Seine-et-Oise, at Milly.⁴

February 13, 1794, to the representatives in the departments, a letter concerning the levy of horses.⁵ February 14, 1794, a letter which ordered the Representatives in charge of the war of the Vendee to send all the guns of the rebels to Paris.⁶ April 22, 1794, a letter recalling Dubois

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| 1. | Aulard | Recueil | des | Actes | Vol. | 10-403 |
| 2. | " | " | " | " | " | 10-419 |
| 3. | " | " | " | " | " | 10-462 |
| 4. | " | " | " | " | " | 11-96 |
| 5. | " | " | " | " | " | 11-118 |
| 6. | " | " | " | " | " | 11-144 |

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Grance Representative to the armies of the West and the coasts of Brest to the Convention.¹ June 13, 1794, in reply to a request by Bourbette, Representative at the army of the North the Committee sent a list of decrees applicable to the army of the West. July 15, 1794, to Joseph Le Bon a letter which ordered him to find out those who were responsible for feeding the army bad bread and to punish them.²

On February 3, 1794, there was a letter signed by several members of the Committee about the execution of various laws which had the following note at the end, "In one part of the circulars to the district, at the end of the third line there is 11 frimaire: it should be 14 frimaire. That error has caused several administrations to demand the decree of 11 frimaire; they were mistaken as it does not exist.

The members in charge of the Correspondance.⁴

Billaud-Varenne, Barere.

It is impossible to tell whether Collot and Billaud had special charge of the correspondance of the committee or whether that duty devolved upon several of the members, however, Billaud and Collot signed a large number of letters together. But the one very important letter of February 16,

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| 1. | Aulard | Recueil | des | Actes | Vol. | 12-762 |
| 2. | " | " | " | " | " | 14-292 |
| 3. | " | " | " | " | " | 15-192 |
| 4. | " | " | " | " | " | 10-639 |

1794,¹ which explained very fully the working of the law of the 14 frimaire to the Representatives charged with the organization of Revolutionary government in the départements was signed by Billaud-Varenne, B. Barere and Collot d'Herbois. There is no record as to whose hand writing it is in so it is impossible to say which of the three was responsible for the letter.

The first letter written by Billaud-Varenne was on October 14, 1793, to Ysabeau, Representative at the army of the Western Pyrenees, and to Tallien, Representative charged with the levy en masse in the Gironde and Dordogne, at Reole, "We are sending you, citizen colleagues, the decree which brought about the surrender of Lyons. It is an example given to all rebellious and federalistic cities, and which ought to become in your hands the strongest arm for the entering of Bordeaux. Above all may not the fault committed by the representatives of the people who have conducted so slowly the siege of Lyons become common with you. We frankly avow that we find your measures against Bordeaux brought up too slowly. The moment has come to act instead of always deliberating, with the forces at your disposal and a general worthy of your confidence. A prompt entry at the head of an imposing army, into a city so uncertain is the only means of assuring it to the Republic and to prevent the dangers of a siege always to be feared as long as you are within the walls of Bordeaux. Your first

operation ought to be a disarmament and a complete regulating of all the constituted authorities. May you proclaim the decree relative to Lyons; may you do, in a word, all that which energy, zeal, and love of liberty ought to inspire republicans such as you.

Safety and fraternity ¹

Collot d'Herbois, Billaud-Varenne."

There was a postscript in the hand of Robespierre which detailed the persons to be punished if Bordeaux was taken.

The second letter in Billaud's hand was on October 14, 1793, to Legendre (de la Nievre), Representative charged with the levy en mass in the Nievre and Allier, "The Committee of Public Safety, citizen colleague, beseeches you, as soon as you receive this letter, to return to the National Convention placing on you all responsibility of delay. ²

Billaud-Varenne, CA.Prieur, Collot d'Herbois."

Another letter of the same kind was written on October 27, 1793, to Lindet, Representative at the army of the coasts of Cherbourg "The multiple work of the Committee demand, more than ever, that you return in to its midst. We recall you there now with insistance. Do not delay for a successor. Your colleague Oudot would do well to remain at

1. Aulard Recueil des Actes Vol. 7-397

2. " " " " " 7-412

his post until the arrival of your successor.¹

Safety and Fraternity,

Carnot, Billaud-Varenne.²

On December 14, 1793, Billaud-Varenne wrote a letter to Le Carpentier, Representative charged with the levy en mass in the Manche and Orne, "Of new information we announce that Saint-Malo is menaced at present by the brigands, who are directing themselves anew against that place and by the English who ought to attempt a descent in these quarters. We know that the English have spies in Saint-Malo. There is the place to exercise your vigilance and courage. Also be on your guard against hypocrites, who pretend an exaggerated patriotism in order to hide their former aristocracy. All measures have been taken in order to exterminate the brigands. Ten thousand men from the army of the North are pursuing them and placing them in a circle of imposing forces. Thus the moment to strike the last blows has arrived. Your conduct at Granville assures us of success, the united efforts of our enemies will add to the glory of having fought and overcome them."²

Billaud-Varenne, B. Barere."

There was also a letter in Billaud's hand on January 10, 1794, to Fouche, Seb de Laporte et Albitte, Representative at Lyon: Citizen Colleagues, the Convention has decreed 1^{er} Nivose that

1. Aulard Recueil des Actes Vol. 8-60

2. " " " " " 9-395

it approved the decrees and all the measures that you have taken at Commune-Affranchie; we can add nothing to that approval.

Your energy, the development of means which that energy has put in action, are in accord with the strongest will of the people, of whom the decrees of the Convention are the organ. The Committee of Public Safety approves all the operations on the same principles: that is to say, it follows all your acts, that it acts with you, and with all those whose vigorous efforts advance the success of the Republic. We recommend you, citizen colleagues, to occupy yourselves with organization of the revolutionary government; we are sending you the decrees and instructions of the Committee which are related to that object. We do not need to add that you should overcome the enemies of liberty: you have already realized it; you have already gauged it; give to it the force and all the authority that it should have.¹

Safety and fraternity,

Billaud-Varenne."

This is the only letter entirely in the hand of Billaud-Vafenne which gave any instructions concerning the revolutionary government.

The last letter which Billaud wrote, January 10, 1794, was of peculiar interest as it was about supplies and would seem to come within the field of Robert Lindet, who

1. Aulard Recueil des Actes Vol. 10-165

signed the letter with Billaud. The letter was addressed to Siblot, Representative in the Eure and Seine-Inferieure.

"We learned that there has been noted the second of this month at Havre, five frigates, two vessels of 50 canon, and two light boats.

The same couriers brought us the despatches which announce the disturbance and the agitation in the work yards and in the towns over provisions.

Provisional measures have been taken for the need of the moment; the bakers have no bread; extraordinary baking has been ordered.

It has been proposed that part of the naval supplies be eaten.

That movement coincides with the arrival of hostile vessels.

Go promptly to Havre. Assure yourself of the cause of the agitation.

To all these agitations over food, is joined political movements which ought to be watched.

We are sending you a copie of the decree which we have passed replacing two officers of whom, one appeared a suspect, and the other ought to be employed in another part; we charged the minister of the navy to give an account of the state of the supplies destined for the navy.

We invite you to verify the situation at Havre relative to supplies.

There are two objects to fulfill.

Inform us of the quantity and nature of the supplies destined for the navy.

Inform us at the same time with the same care of the quantity and nature of the supplies which ought to be in the magazines of Havre and of all the resources which exist for the inhabitants.

We will send to Havre some detachements which will strengthen your measures, orders and requisitions which circumstances force you to address to the constituted authorities and cities.

It is difficult to know Havre well. You ought to doubt everything. The administrations have been renewed. It will be even more difficult to know them well.

Safety and fraternity,¹

R. Lindet, Billaud-Varenne."

If Billaud-Varenne was judged by the letters he wrote he would appear to be a capable enthusiastic man, interested in all phases of the work done by the representatives and constituted authorities throughout France but it must be remembered that he only wrote 6 out of the 60 that

1. Aulard Recueil des Actes Vol. 10-399

he signed while Barere wrote twice that number. But thru letters partially written by Billaud and letters written by the members in charge of correspondance it is possible to say that Billaud-Varenne had some connection with the net work of representatives scattered thru the departements. In this connection it may be interesting to note a letter written by Baudot "one of the Representatives of the army of the Rhine and Moselle to the Committee of Public Safety and to Billaud-Varenne, member of the Committee" The letter to the Committee asked for his recall. The letter to Billaud-Varenne "because as he said 'charged to the Committee of Public Safety, of the part concerned with the deputies on mission'" was as follows; "I ask, as a favor, my recall to the National Convention; my moral forces can no longer stand my work. Affaires are in a very satisfactory state at the armies of the Rhine and at Moselle. The commission of my successor could not be anything but honorable and glorious. I invite you to appoint him promptly so I can take a rest, for the good of the work. In general, I believe that it is not well to have the same representative near the same army for too long a time." From the wording of this letter it would seem that Billaud had special charge of the representatives on mission.

Aulard Recueil des Actes Vol. 11-447.

The Artistic Work of the Committee.

One of the most interesting phases of the work of the Committee of Public Safety is shown by the 75 decrees Billaud-Varenne signed which may be taken under the general heading of Art. These decrees were upon the following subjects; painting, sculpture, music, architecture, fetes, operas, theatres and theatricals, museums, gardens and costumes.

Billaud-Varenne wrote none of these decrees. Barere wrote 46, CA.Prieur 2, Couthon 2, Robespierre 1, Collot 1, Saint Just 1, and Herault 1, the other 21 were in no hand. Practically all of these decrees were passed during the months of April, May, June and July of the year 1794.

Music was a factor in the work of the Committee from the beginning as the army had to have bands. But aside from military music the following decrees showed the work of the Committee along this line. November 24, 1793, the Committee decreed that the hymn of liberty be chanted, at all public functions, every tenth day, and each time the public demanded it.¹ May 17, 1794, a decree was passed establishing the National institute of music in the building which was prepared for it.² Another on the same day called all composers to compete in writting songs, chants, etc. for National fetes,

1. Aulard Recueil des Actes Vol. 8-670

2. " " " " " 13-571

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theatres, operas, and armies.¹ June 7, 1794, the Committee ordered the printers working upon the music for the fete to work at night if necessary.² July 9, 1794, the Committee decreed that the Association of Artists, musicians and composers should send to the different armies on land and on sea and to the Ecole de Mars copies of all the hymns and chants which would propagate republican spirit and love of public virtues.³ On July, 7, 1794, a decree was passed which arranged for a great concert to be given on July 14, 1794.⁴

Not only was the Committee interested in music but also in sculpture as all sculptors were urged to take part in the competition⁵ which was to furnish statues for the beautification of the Republic. The Committee ordered a column built to commemorate those who had died for their country,⁶ a statue of Rousseau,⁷ statues for the national garden,⁸ and a statue of Philosophy holding the Rights of man and the Constitution, for the room where the Convention held its meetings.⁹ A decree of July 1, 1794, called all the "artists and men of letters together to give to the edifices

1.	Aulard	Recueil	des	Notes	Vol.	13-572
2.	"	"	"	"	"	14-189
3.	"	"	"	"	"	15-25
4.	"	"	"	"	"	14-776
5.	"	"	"	"	"	13-25
6.	"	"	"	"	"	13-26
7.	"	"	"	"	"	13-26
8.	"	"	"	"	"	13-69
9.	"	"	"	"	"	13-179

called the Barrieres de Paris the character of monuments destined to trace the revolutionary epochs and the victories of the armies of the Republic and to compose the inscriptions which ought to be placed there."¹ The Artist David had charge of all this work for the Republic.

The Committee passed fourteen decrees about the national garden, which ordered statues,² a temple to Equality³ and orange trees,⁴ for the National Garden and a decree of June 13, 1794, described the construction and decoration of the garden at length.⁵ A decree of July 6, 1794, ordered the Garden to be open until eleven o'clock in the evening during good weather and all night when a public fete was held there.⁶

The Committee passed several decrees relative to the museum of Natural History which they seemed very desirous of making as complete as possible,⁷ valuable works of art were to be purchased for it⁸ and naturalists were to be appointed to care for the museum.⁹

The museum was educational in its nature but the Committee of Public Safety believed in providing amusement

1.	Aulard	Recueil	des	Actes	Vol.	14-630
2.	"	"	"	"	"	13-69
3.	"	"	"	"	"	13-177
4.	"	"	"	"	"	13-665
5.	"	"	"	"	"	14-288
6.	"	"	"	"	"	14-748
7.	"	"	"	"	"	13-570
8.	"	"	"	"	"	13-717
9.	"	"	"	"	"	14-352

for the people so the opera houses and theatres were kept open and numerous fetes were held. The players in the theatres and opera houses were to be payed by the National Treasury,¹ all decorations, machines, furniture, etc., which was formerly used by the opera at the Chateau of Versailles were placed at the disposal of the Director of the opera of Paris,² and poets and dramatists were called to write patriotic poems and republican dramas which would publish the heroic actions of the soldiers, the courage and devotion of the republicans, and the victories of the French armies.³ The Committee of Public Instruction was made a virtual board of censors as they were to examine all dramas and operas given in the Republic.⁴ The Committee ordered certain productions given at different times as, April 2, 1794, the piece entitled "La journee du 10 aût"⁵ was ordered given at the Opera house immediately after that of "La Reunion du 10 août"; June 4, 1794, the Committee ordered the play called "Le Heros de treize ans" as it would "develope in the souls of young citizens the beginnings of republican virtues";⁶ July 3, 1794, the Committee authorized the production of "la Journee du

1.	Aulard	Recueil des Actes	Vol.	12-614
2.	"	"	"	" 13-311
3.	"	"	"	" 13-545
4.	"	"	"	" 14-169
5.	"	"	"	" 12-343
6.	"	"	"	" 14-131

10 about 1772, ou Chute du dernier de nos tyrans, a drama in four acts intermingled with charts and declamation."¹

Two of the most interesting decrees signed by Billard were upon clothes, interesting because they show that the condition of the Republic was such that the Committee had time to turn its attention to such trivial matters. May 14, 1794, David was ordered to present plans "for improving the national costume and for making it more appropriate to republican habits and the character of the revolution."² The second decree was on May 24, 1794, and ordered David to have colored plates made of the various plans for national dress, let it be legislative en function and in the armies or judicial either civil or military to be distributed to each member of the Convention and to the citizens of the different departments to the number of twenty thousand copies for the model of the civil costume and six thousand for each of the others. ³

Billard-Varenne may have had no particular connection with this phase of the revolution but he may have been very interested in it, or at least interested in Barere's work as he signs several decrees alone with Barere and with Barere, Carnot and Collot invariably written by Barere. These decrees, at least, show a lighter and brighter side of the work done by the Committee.

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| 1. | Billard | Recueil des Actes | Vol. | 14-635 |
| 2. | " | " | " | " 13-577 |
| 3. | " | " | " | " 13-715 |

Miscellaneous Decrees Signed by Billaud-Varenne.

Billaud-Varenne signed many decrees which could not be taken up in the preceeding chapters. A short account will be given of these decrees with no attempt to connect them logically.

Newspaper and Printing

Five decrees concerned newspapers and publicity of the decrees, laws and speeches of the Committee. This was attained by having the newspapers print those articles the Committee wished widely known and a number of copies were sent to the popular societies, municipale administrations, and governmental officials. Copies of the laws were sent out thru the departements for the Committee realized that France must know the laws to obey them.¹ Somewhat allied to the subject of publicity was that of printing. Orders were given to printers to print this or that speech, as December 29, 1793, a printer was ordered to make a number of copies of the report of Billaud-Varenne and the decree of 15 frimaire.² Printers were placed in requisition to carry on the work of the government.³ The Committee also ordered German typographical characters purchased⁴ so that the speeches, reports and decrees could be translated into German⁵ for the inhabitants

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| 1. | Aulard | Recueil des Actes | Vol. 8-339; 9-74,145,212;12-315 | | |
| 2. | " | " | " | " | 9-741 |
| 3. | " | " | " | " | 13-412 |
| 4. | " | " | " | " | 13-517 |
| 5. | " | " | " | " | 14-352 |

of the departments of Haut, Bas-Rhin, Moselle and Meuth of whom two thirds could not read French.¹ Printing houses were of such importance that the government aided in their establishment and the Committee ordered their encouragement by officials.²

Foriegn Affairs

Billaud signed 15 decrees upon foreign affairs. One on October 11, 1793, was of peculiar interest as it gave an account of the trouble with Genet in the United States and provided for his arrest and the officials to replace him. The new Commissioner was to "prevent all Frenchmen from violating the neutrality of the United States in any way."³ This decree was signed only by Collot d'Herbois and Billaud-Varenne but the first line was in the hand of Barere. Another decree on October 11, 1793, signed only by Billaud-Varenne ordered the minister of foreign affairs to negotiate for an alliance with Turkey and to do all that he could to induce Turkey to declare war upon Austria.⁴ A decree on November 23, 1793, written by Barere and signed by him and by Billaud, authorized the Belgians, Liegeois, and Batavians to assemble at Versailles.⁵ There were also decrees relative to neutral and commercial relations with the Swiss⁶ with whom

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| 1. | Aulard | Recueil des Actes | Vol. 15-398 |
| 2. | " | " | " |
| 3. | " | " | " |
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| 6. | " | " | " |
- 13-387;547
7-360
7-360
8-644
9-483,516; Vol. 10-220.

France had an alliance. February 17, 1794, the Committee ordered the Minister of foreign affairs to notify all nations of the change of the national flag, decreed by the Convention.¹ Seven of the decrees upon foreign affairs were in the hand of Barere, Lindet wrote 1 and seven were in no hand.

Public Aid.

The men of France had gone into the armies so there were numberless cases needing charity. A Commission of Public Aid was formed but the Committee often ordered assistance given in particular cases. No one man seems to have had charge of this work as all but two of the 18 decrees signed by Billaud on this subject were in no hand. One was written by Carnot and one by Barere. The decrees were of the following type. Aid for families of soldiers;² provision for orphans;³ reports on and provision for mendicity;⁴ plans made for the care of the aged⁵ and for incapacitated soldiers;⁶ a commune invaded by the enemy was given customary assistance⁷ and individuals were given charity for various reasons.⁸ One of the most interesting of these provisions was for the establishment of a School of Public works where the unemployed

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| 1. | Aulard | Recueil | des | Actes | Vol. | 11-212 |
| 2. | " | " | " | " | " | 12-95 15, 577 |
| 3. | " | " | " | " | " | 13-400 |
| 4. | " | " | " | " | " | 13-720;14-318 |
| 5. | " | " | " | " | " | 14-307 |
| 6. | " | " | " | " | " | 14-395;15-789 |
| 7. | " | " | " | " | " | 15-326 |
| 8. | " | " | " | " | " | 13-579,759 |

could be taught various trades.¹

Somewhat allied to the decrees on public aid were those which showed the interest taken in sanitation. Billaud wrote one of the seven decrees on this subject, January 28, 1794, which ordered the minister of the interior to send three pupils of the school of Alfort to Toulouse, Sedan and Strasbourg in order to treat the disease of the itch which was wide spread in those towns.² On January 29, 1794, the Committee ordered all dead bodies buried where armies had passed;³ April 22 steps ordered taken to suppress an epidemic in the district of Dinan;⁴ April 27th and May 1st decrees were passed which ordered the slaughter houses removed to the outskirts of Paris;⁵ June 22nd, Daufan physician, was ordered to continue his treatment of the illnesses which occurred among the foundry workers of Paris; and a decree was passed July 13th in answer to a petition of Clermont Ferrand asking for better roads and general sanitation in the commune,⁶ deciding that the petition should be granted.

Education.

It would be expected that the Committee would be interested in Education since it was the duty of the Republic

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| 1. | Aulard | Recueil des Actes | Vol. 15-601,602 | | |
| 2. | " | " | " | " | 10-489 |
| 3. | " | " | " | " | 10-505 |
| 4. | " | " | " | " | 12-753 |
| 5. | " | " | " | " | 13-95; 178 |
| 6. | " | " | " | " | 15-136 |

to give its people an education so they could partake intelligently in the nations activities. The decrees, however, on the question of education signed by Billaud-Varenne were few in number. The first was an order to the Commissioner of Public instruction to collect all papers upon education and send them to the Petit-Luxembourg.¹ A decree of May 6, 1794, arranged for a school to be established in the maison des Invalides and as soon as the inmates were sufficiently educated they were to be employed in public work as befitted their talents.² A decree of May 28, 1794, signed only by Billaud and Collot ordered a sufficient number of the "Declaration of the Rights of Man" printed for the needs of the primary schools.³ Then followed six decrees concerning the Ecole de Mars which the Republic wished to prefect as it was the military training school.⁴

Housing.

Billaud-Varenne signed 28 decrees relative to the housing of the different governmental officials and for the meetings of these officials. A typical decree of this kind was the order given to David to construct a hall where the representative could meet while the most important was the

1. Aulard Recueil des Actes Vol. 13-47
2. " " " " " 13-311
3. " " " " " 13-789
4. " " " " " 14-77,240,433,481,175,262.
5. " " " " " 13-27

decree of April 15, 1794, which arranged for the housing of the twelve Commissions created by the law of 12 germinal. Another decree ordered bronze plates placed upon each building bearing the title of the commission occupying it¹ Barere wrote 12 of these decrees, CA.Prieur, Robespierre and Carnot 1, the rest were in no hand.

Ballons, Telegraph, Roads, Posts, etc.

Billaud-Varenne signed four decrees which had to do with the construction of Balloons which were to be used with the army² and two decrees about the formation of a telegraphic system which was encouraged in every way.³ There were also several decrees ordering better roads made,⁴ often because of delay in messenger service or hinderance of army manoevers. Canals and rivers were also ordered to be drained and made navigable.⁵ Administration of the mail, was bettered⁶ and currier service organized⁷ by the Committee. There were three decrees about the new system of weights and measures⁸ which in some respects had to do with foreign affairs as a Commissioner was ordered sent to America to explain the new system of weights and measures. Billaud had not the technical knowledge to take

	Aulard	Recueil des Actes	Vol. 12-595
1.	Aulard	Recueil des Actes	Vol. 13-48
2.	"	"	" 8-3,161,673; 9-61
3.	"	"	" 7-29,562
4.	"	"	" 8-518; 10-100,304,727
5.	"	"	" 13-316; 14-26
6.	"	"	" 11-156
7.	"	"	" 7-211; 13-263
8.	"	"	" 9-321,437,600

part in this work but he signed the decrees with the rest of the Committee though Lindet wrote two and CA.Prieur one of them.

There were also twenty-four decrees¹ which were impossible to classify and as they seem of little importance they will not be summarized, with the exception of the decree passed July 28, 1794, signed by the Committee of General Security and Public Safety which ordered the citizens detailed to guard the children of the tyrant, held at the temple to be extremely watchful.²

This collection of decrees shows to some extent the field of Billaud-Varenne's work as he signed decrees on every subject.

1. Aulard Recueil des Actes Vol. 7-164, 183, 211, 585; 8-118
9-63, 415, 460, 510; 11-83; 12-144
12-437, 753; 13-409, 715, 800;
14-485, 492, 533; 15-457, 496, 701, 723
2. " " " " " 15-481

Revolutionary Administration.

The preceeding chapters have shown the working of various parts of the government under the direction of the Committee but the great work of the Committee was that of framing and directing the administrative machinery which would take care of France during the period of the Revolution. The decrees treated in this chapter are upon this phase of the Committee's work and incidently show the absolute control of the Committee over every phase of the government.

Billaud-Varenne signed 107 decrees upon the foregoing subjects but he only wrote two of these and part of a third with Barere. Barere wrote 20, Robespierre 8, Lindet 7, Collot 4, Couthon 3, Carnot 3, Saint Just 2 and CA.Prieur 2, while members of the Committee of General Security wrote 3 decrees and 52 were in no hand.

After the organization of the Great Committee of Public Safety the Executive Council was no longer of primary importance as shown by the decrees which the Committee passed relative to that body. On September 21, 1793, a decree was passed which regulated the joint meetings of the Committee and the Executive Council as follows: "The Committee of Public Safety of the National Convention deliberating upon the rules to regulate their meetings decrees the following.

Whenever the members of the Committee of Public Safety of the National Convention and those composing the executive Council of the Republic decide to meet together they will unite at the indicated hour in the rooms between those in which they have their separate meetings.

Those ministers who will have been summoned to the Committee for special reasons will be invited there or will consider themselves so invited.

Moreover, citizens other than the members of the Committee can not be present at these meetings. Two members of the Committee will be designated each day to communicate with the deputations and citizens which present themselves from noon until two o'clock in the afternoon. In the evening there will be no audience.

The citizen secretaries and commissioners will not enter unless called by the Committee.¹

Carnot, Robespierre, CA.Prieur, Billaud-Varenne
Prieur (de la Marne)

On November 5, 1793, the Committee ordered the executive council to unite with it to deliberate upon the general state of the Republic.² But most of the decrees passed by the Committee relative to the Executive Council were usually formal approvals of some act of the Executive Council as the following, "The Committee of Public Safety has seen the authorization of the Executive Council of the 29 frimaire, the tenor

of which is as follows: 'Upon report of the Commission of Supplies the Executive Council authorizes citizen Visseman, wig maker, to send to J.-M. Fraissinet, negociant at Amsterdam, a box containing three wigs. The present authorization will be submitted for the approval of the Committee of Public Safety.'

Seen and aproved by the Committee of Public Safety.¹

R.Lindet, Robespierre, Carnot, Billaud-Varenne."

It appears from the contents of these decrees that every act of the Executive Council had to be approved by the Committee.

There were many decrees concerning the Executive Council but there were only two which specified the relationship to exist between the Committee of Public Safety and the Committee of General Security. On October 22, 1793, the Committee ordered that a member of the Committee of General Security be invited to confer one day of the week with the Committee of Public Safety in order to concert the means of assuring general liberty and tranquility.² Again on January 3, 1794, "The Committee of Public Safety having heard citizens speaking in the name of the Revolutionary Committee of the section Popincourt, has recognized that, according to the law all the questions proposed by them ought to be taken to the

1. Aulard Recueil des Acts Vol. 9-622

2. " " " " " 7-562

Committee of General Security, which after having taken connaissance of them, but only when they believe it necessary, will they confer about it and meet with the Committee of Public Safety.¹

Collot-d'Herbois, Billaud-Varenne, Carnot, B. Barere." But even in these decrees it was the Committee of Public Safety which gave the orders and were to be the last appeal.

The Committees decrees concerning the Revolutionary tribunal show very clearly its control over that arm of the government. February 9, 1794, the Committee passed a decree that the revolutionary juries should do their work with justice and dispatch instead of having long discussions as they were not orators.² Other decrees were passed which showed the very close supervision of the tribunal by the Committee. March 15, 1794, the Committee authorized the public accuser of the Revolutionary tribunal to use as many spies as he needed to learn of plots.³ April 16, 1794, the minister of the navy was ordered to forward certain letters to the public accuser of the Revolutionary tribunal at Brest.⁴ Again on April 19, 1794, decreed that the Revolutionary tribunal of Aides should continue to exercise its functions.⁵ July 15, 1794, the Committee ordered certain persons to be taken before the Revolutionary tribunal to be judged.

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| 1. | Aulard | Recueil | des | Actes | Vol. | 10-45 |
| 2. | " | " | " | " | " | 11-3 |
| 3. | " | " | " | " | " | 11-715 |
| 4. | " | " | " | " | " | 12-498 |
| 5. | " | " | " | " | " | 12-680 |

The Committee itself often examined citizens and papers¹ and kept very careful watch upon the question of surveillance on the part of the Commissions and administrators.² May 18, 1794, Billaud wrote the following decree; "The Committee of Public Safety decrees that the Committee of Surveillance at Bordeaux be renewed; that citizen Jullien, sent to Bordeaux, will make inquiries of the patriots proper to compose the new Committee of Surveillance and the different members of the revolutionary commission."³

Billaud-Varenne, Robespierre, Carnot, B. Barere." A decree ordering this Committee of Surveillance at Bordeaux to be composed of nine citizens⁴ written by Barere, followed the decree of Billaud. It seems rather odd that the two decrees were^{not} combined in one decree. On July 27, 1794, during the turmoil of the 9th of thermidor the Committee ordered the Committee of Surveillance of the 48 sections of Paris to remain at their posts and to report that evening and the next day, hour by hour, the events which they supervised in their sections.⁵ Watchfulness was one of the attributes of the Committee and they controlled the organized surveillance throughout France.

The Committee of Public Safety organized and supervised the Various Commissions which formed the administrative

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| 1. | Aulard | Recueil des Actes | Vol. | 10-303; 12-363, 381, 435, 579; 15-7, 165, 723. |
| 2. | " | " | " | " 12-435 |
| 3. | " | " | " | " 13-588 |
| 4. | " | " | " | " 13-538 |
| 5. | " | " | " | " 15-457 |

machinery of the Republican government. A decree of February 11, 1794, created the Commissions as follows, "The Committee of Public Safety, deliberating upon the surest means of providing for the provisioning and all needs of the Armies of the Republic, for the simplification of the work of the different ministerial bureaus, for the organization of courts and public works, of public education and total liquidation of the national debt, decrees the following measures, to be enacted and organized immediately as urgent measures.

Article 1. Besides the National Commission of supplies and provisions of the Republic that of arms and powder and that of distribution of the laws which have been enacted and organized there will be organized successively the following commissions:

- The Commission of clothing and equipment,
- The Commission of wagonage, labor and military posting,
- The Commission of public and civil military and marine hospitals,
- The Commission of public works, civil, military and maritime
- The Commission of education and public instruction.

Article 2. The three Commissions of clothing and equipment, wagonage, labor and military posting, and of public works will be organized without delay as they are the most urgent.

Article 3. There will be formed within the Commission of supplies and provisions two sections: the first of agriculture and supplies in the interior; the second, of commerce, industry and foreign affairs. There will be prepared for that purpose a project of a decree in order to operate that division, and to

name three new Commissioners for the second section and to reduce the salaries of that Commission of which the work will be divided.¹

B.Barere, Carnot, CA.PPieur, Jeanbon, Saint Andre,
Billaud-Varenne."

But the work of this decree was not permanent as upon proposal of the Committee of Public Safety and after a report by Carnot the National Convention on the 12th of germinal passed a law formulating 12 Commissions as follows:²

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| 1. | Commission of civil, police and tribunal administration, |
| 2. | " " public instruction, |
| 3. | " " agriculture and arts, |
| 4. | " " commerce and provisions, |
| 5. | " " public works, |
| 6. | " " public aid, |
| 7. | " " transports, posts and messengers, |
| 8. | " " finances, |
| 9. | " " organization and movement of land troops, |
| 10. | " " navy and colonies, |
| 11. | " " arms, powders and mines, |
| 12. | " " foreign affairs. |

The Committee of Public Safety passed a decree April 13, 1794, which explained how the transition from the old system to the new was to be made.³ A decree of April 17, 1794, gave a clear idea of the relationship existing between the Committee and the Commissions as a summary of the decree will show. The Committee of Public Safety wishing to take the measures necessary for the expedition of governmental affairs, decrees: All affairs sent by the Committee of Public Safety,

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| 1. | Aulard | Recueil des Actes | Vol. | 11-65 |
| 2. | " | " | " | 12-326 |
| 3. | " | " | " | 12-554 |

section of war, to any of the Commissions created by the 12th Germinal will be analyzed by the said Commission within 24 hours after its reception and sent back to the same section of the Committee with a summarized report. 2. If the Commission encounters difficulties beyond their power to deal with, they may add to the report a projected decree. The Committee will accept, reject or amend the proposition as it sees fit. 3. All other matter sent from other sources to the Commissions will be summarized and sent to the Committee. 4. The names of those particularly interested will be written in the margin. 5. The Commissions must not retard any matter in any way. The decisions of the Commissions will be provisionally used without awaiting the formal consent of the Committee which will annul or decree the execution of their decisions by positive orders as it judges necessary.¹

The power of the new Commissions was shown by a decree of May 19, 1794, "The Committee of Public Safety decrees that no payment can be made under the signature of the old ministers if the papers have not been indorsed by the new Committee to which their functions are given."²

Collot d'Herbois, Billaud."

Aside from the many decrees passed by the Committee which showed its control over the twelve regular Commissions there were several decrees relative to the Popular Commissions.

1. Aulard Recueil des Actes Vol. 12-641

2. " " " " " 13-602

May 13, 1794, Billaud-Varenne wrote a decree which ordered the establishment at Paris of a Popular Commission composed of five members, the names given, which would examine all the people suspected according to the terms of the law of the 8th and 13th of Ventose and would make out a list of the judgments which should be reported to the Committee of Public Safety.¹

Decrees passed on July 19, 1794,² and July 21, 1794,³ signed by both the Committee of Public Safety and the Committee of General Security decreed the approval of the Committees upon the lists sent to them by the Popular Commission of prisoners and their punishments. Again on July 22, 1794, Barere wrote the following decree: "The Committees of Public Safety and General Security decree : 1. There will be appointed within three days the citizens charged with the work of the four Popular Commissions created by the 23d of Ventose. 2. They will judge all prisoners in the prisons of the departments. 3. They will sit at Paris. 4. The judgments of the Commissions will be examined by the Committees of Public Safety and General Security in the usual way. 5. There will be distributed to each Commission a district of several departments for the judgment of the prisoners. 6. The appointment of the Revolutionary Commissions which seem necessary for the judgment of the judgment of the prisoners sent to the tribunal will be provided."⁴

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| 1. | Aulard | Recueil | des | Actes | Vol. | 13-482 |
| 2. | " | " | " | " | " | 15-282 |
| 3. | " | " | " | " | " | 15-334,335 |
| 4. | " | " | " | " | " | 15-349 |

Du Barron, B. Barere, Couthon, Voulland, Carnot, CA. Prieur, Louis (du Bas-Rhin), Collot d'Herbois, Amar, Laviomterie, R. Lindet, Vadier, M. Bayle, Saint Just, Billaud-Varenne."

These decrees show how the Committee was directly responsible for all acts of the Popular Commissions for every decision made by these Commissions had to be approved by the Committee before it was enacted. Thus indirectly the Committee was responsible for all punishments meted out to the prisoners.

The Committee's supervision of every part of the "Terror" was shown by general orders, particularly thruout the day of the 9th of thermidar when they attempted to control the situation by ordering an armed force to guard the convention.¹ These general orders were never the work of Billaud so they will not be taken up.

There was one striking thing about the work of the Committee of Public Safety and that was its complete dominance over all of the administrative committees, Commissions and officers which did the work of the terror. The decrees in this chapter merely substantiate that fact. The Committee may have been right or wrong but a study of its decrees show clearly that the Committee alone was responsible for the terror.

As to which of the members of that Committee was the author of the terror can hardly be judged from a study of the work of one man, particularly as Billaud-Varenne wrote so few decrees.

1. Aulard Recueil des Actes Vol. 15-460

Mission of Billaud-Varenne.

Billaud-Varenne was only sent on Mission once while a member of the Committee of Public Safety and little can be learned from the registrar concerning that mission.

On February 17, 1794, the Committee passed a decree which ordered Billaud-Varenne to go to Port Malo, without delay, to carry out the measures taken by the Committee. He was invested with unlimited powers, as the Representatives of the people near the armies.¹ The decree was written by Barere. Another decree of the same day set aside 6000 livres for Billaud's expenses while on Mission.

Billaud-Varenne was only absent from the Committee twenty-three days from February 19 to March 10, 1794. During that time he wrote two letters to the Committee and the Committee wrote one to him. The first letter of Billaud's was written February 25, 1794, "The Representatives at Saint Malo to the Committee of Public Safety.

By force of activity citizen colleagues, we arrived in a short time at our destination. Already the two divisions are united and their staff organized. We lack General Laborde who has not been here and who probably will not arrive. So if you have a good general it would be well for you to send him to us. We always wait upon the colonel

of the army of the West, from whom we have received no news. This is indispensable in order to form our vanguard and to sustain and enthuse the troops of the new requisition who lack experience. Be that as it may they all march and all seem perfectly disposed. The generals themselves are full of impatience and zeal. For two or three days the enthusiasm ran so high at Granvill that the women themselves worked to equip the ships. The people seem to see with enthusiasm such preparation. The general opinion is that they are going to make a decent war on England, and no one seems alarmed at the enterprize or doubt its success, nor to divine our secret. Thus how will it be with a project less vast?

We have not received the arms that we asked of you, and surely you have sent them already. To-morrow's tide ought to set afloat a part of the transports which are here. Unfortunately the winds are constantly contrary. But the cause of liberty is too just for heaven not to aid it. Moreover, a few days cannot prevent the success of our enterprize. Hasten to send us the arms and the colonel of the army of the West and a general if you can find one worthy of confidence. We believe you will be able to supply that place. General Dembarrere is here, whom you sent to general Turreau, and whom we have held with us, as the last news from the Vendee seemed to permit that measure. Moreover at times it does not depend upon us that this affair, citizen colleagues, is not carried on

as you wish. If the glory of the Republic depended upon that it would remain without a spot, it would be enriched. Knowing your principles and your views, we presume that you will only applaud if circumstances offer us favorable chances, we know how to profit by them. An easy victory, sometimes preceeds one of more importance. They are near the Isle of Wight when they are masters of Jersey and Guernesey. By an attempt upon the first Island made with prudence and with courage, since they have so much less to conquer, they will shake the whole English government. We have decided to leave a garrison sufficient for Jersey and Guernesey, after the first expedition is made, it will leave us 20,000 men free, who, joined to an imposing squadron and seconded by extraordinary means can strike a second blow, and a decisive blow. Consider that in the last war they employed less force in order to go much further. It is for you to judge if the occasion is favorable, it must be in the heart of a triumph.¹

Safety and Fraternity,

Rumps, Billaud-Varenne."

The second letter of Billaud's was written to the Committee March 4, 1794, was very long and not so confident in tone. Only an abstract of it will be given. You are impatient, dear colleagues, and impatience devours us but the winds have been contrary and bad weather has prevented the expedition but everything else is ready.

We need more arms and have asked Jeanbon Saint-Andre about it. We also need transports and have written Jeanbon Saint-Andre on that subject.

There are many small obstacles and misdemeanor of all kind. A package of verdigris was found in a box of bread. The guilty were punished. There was trouble with the Paris bataillon but that has been settled. General Rossiznal has not fulfilled our orders as he should. The troops are getting tired of waiting and their enthusiasm is diminishing. Everything is prepared and there is little doubt of victory.

Contre admiral Cornic, General Maulin and General Dembarere should be highly praised as well as several minor officers.

We await the rest of the fire arms you are to send us.

Four thousand men of the army of the North are at Rennes and will form the advance guard. General Delaborde has arrived but he seems afraid that he may compromise the glory he won at Toulon if he hazards too much. Many things are said against him.

There is some trouble among the cononiers about their pay which seems very just so please attend to it at once. A decree might be drawn up as follows, "The Companies of Voluntary Canonniers, serving in the armies of the Republic will be organized on the same basis as the light artillery and will receive the same pay." Some of the districts are not supplied with food as they should be.

We have received word confirming our suspicions concerning General Duquesnay. Will watch him and he will not remain long in a post which he is unworthy to occupy.¹

Carnot wrote the reply to this letter in the name of the Committee on March 8, 1794, in which he praised Billaud's work very highly and said that his wishes had been carried out by the Committee as expeditiously as possible.² Also in a postscript of his letter Jeanbon said that he had sent the transports desired by Billaud to Port Malo.

It would seem from these letters that Billaud had a great deal of weight with the Committee as his orders were carried out immediately which was not always the case with similar requests from other men. The success of his mission can only be guessed by the high praise given him in Carnot's letter. But from the very short time he spent away from the Committee this would not seem an important phase of his work.

1. Aulard Recueil des Actes Vol. 11-533
2. " " " " " 11-395

Conclusion.

Billaud-Varenne was a most regular attendant of the meetings of the Committee of Public Safety being absent only three days in September besides the twenty days he spent on mission in the Spring of 1794.

While a member of the Committee he signed 1406 decrees and letters but only wrote 22 of these. He signed with every man on the Committee and upon every subject so that it is almost impossible to limit his work to one field or to say that he worked particularly with one or two men. But the similarity of decrees by Billaud and Barere make it seem probable that they worked together. It is almost certain that one of them was the organizer of the Terror, but from an examination of the work done by Billaud-Varenne as member of the Committee it is impossible to draw any definite conclusion upon that subject. Barere wrote the great majority of the decrees but often decrees almost identical in nature would be written by Barere and Billaud-Varenne, for example, the decrees of May 13, 1794,¹ relative to the Popular Commission and that of Barere 22, 1794,² upon the same subject. They also wrote decrees together and it is interesting to note that the important decree upon Revolutionary Government passed by the Committee December 29, 1793, was written by Barere and Billaud together. The decree was as follows; "The Committee of Public Safety in execution of article 1, section IV of the decree of 14 frimaire

1. Aulard Recueil des Actes Vol. 13-482
2. " " " " " 13-394

which authorizes the Committee of Public Safety to take all measures necessary to change the constituted authorities compassed by that decree, wishing to establish simultaneously in all parts of the Republic the revolutionary government decreed 14 frimaire, decrees the following measures:

Article 1. It will appoint hereafter 58 representatives of the people who will be distributed in the various departments to establish revolutionary government and authorized to take there all measures for public safety.

Article 2. It will write to the representatives of the people on mission and who are retained by the present decree for the execution of the law of 14 frimaire.

Article 3. The representatives of the people will be rigorously held to the departments to which they are assigned.

They will be without power in other departments.

They will have unlimited power conforming to the decree of the National Convention.

Article 4. The representatives of the people appointed for the execution of the measures for public safety and to establish Revolutionary Government are given in the following list: (list four pages in length follows, giving the names of the representatives and their departments as

1. Pas-de Calais- - - - - (Le Bon)
2. Nord - - - - -

Article 5. The present decree will be sent to each of the representatives of the people named.¹

B.Barere, Billaud-Varenne, Collot d'Herbois, Carnot."
The decree was written by Barere and the list of appointments was written by Billaud-Varenne.

The question of whether Billaud-Varenne was the author of the decree of 14 frimaire which instituted the Revolutionary Government thruout France cannot be proved by examination of decrees or letters signed by him as a member of the Committee of Public Safety. That question can not be settled without a more conclusive study not only of Billaud-Varenne's work but of Barere's work. So it is impossible to judge whether Billaud-Varenne was the master mind behind the Terror or merely a man with a prodigious capacity for work.

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The tabulation of the written work done by Billaud-Varenne in the Committee of Public Safety formed an Appendix of more than twenty-five pages in the hand writing of Rivera Boyd. It is too elaborate to be typewritten without an unjustifiable expenditure and it does not seem to me that this Appendix needs to be typewritten.

...

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